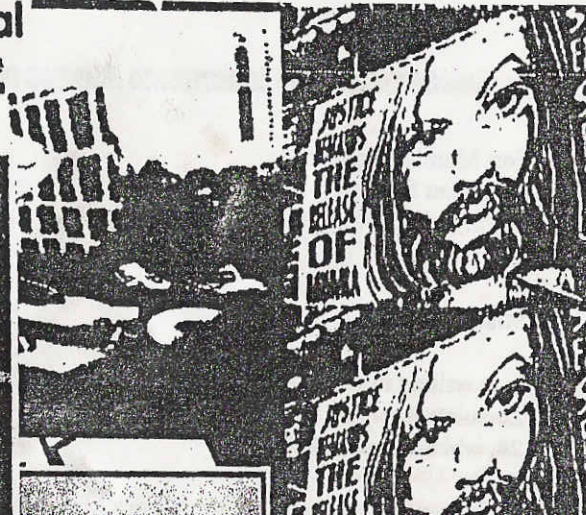


For more information on the Zapatistas:
<http://www.utexas.edu/students/nave>



Mumia Abu-Jamal



Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos



MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos to Mumia Abu-Jamal

For: Mumia Abu-Jamal
American Union
From: Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos
Mexico

Mister Mumia:

I am writing to you in the name of the men, women, children and elderly of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation in order to congratulate you on April 24, which is your birthday.

Perhaps you have heard of us. We are Mexican, mostly indigenous, and we took up arms on January 1 of 1994 demanding a voice, face and name for the forgotten of the earth.

Since then, the Mexican government has made war on us and pursues us and harasses us seeking our death, our disappearance and our definitive silence. The reason? These lands are rich with oil, uranium and precious lumber. The government wants them for the great transnational companies. We want them for all the Mexicans. The government sees our lands as a business. We see our history written in these lands. In order to defend our right (and that of all Mexicans) to live with liberty, democracy, justice and dignity we became an army and undertook a name, voice and face that way.

Perhaps you wonder how we know of you, about your birthday, and why it is that we extend this long bridge which goes from the mountains of the Mexican southeast to the prison of Pennsylvania which has imprisoned you unjustly. Many good people from many parts of the world have spoken of you, through them we have learned how you were ambushed by the North American police in December of 1981, of the lies which they constructed in the procedures against you, and of the death sentence in 1982. We learned about your birthday through the international mobilizations which, under the name of "Millions for Mumia," are being prepared this April 24th.

It is harder to explain this bridge which this letter extends, it is more complicated. I could tell you that, for the powerful of Mexico and the government, to be indigenous, or to look indigenous, is reason for disdain, abhorrence, distrust and hatred. The racism which now floods the palaces of Power in Mexico goes to the extreme of carrying out a war of extermination, genocide, against millions of indigenous. I am sure that you will find similarities

REVOLT



It is the silent acquiescence of millions that supports the system. When you don't oppose a system, your silence becomes approval, for it does nothing to interrupt the system...Many people say that it is insane to resist the system, but actually it is insane not to"

—Mumia Abu-Jamal

This is what Old Man Antonio said long ago and now I tell you this story so that you may understand the reason for this bridge of paper and ink that I send to you all the way from the mountains of the Mexican Southeast.

And also so that you may understand that with this bridge goes pieces of salutes and hugs for Leonard Peltier (who is in the prison at Leavenworth, Kansas), and for the more than 100 political prisoners in the USA who are the victims of injustice, stupidity and authoritarianism.

And with this letter-bridge walks as well a salute to the Dine (the Navajo), who, in Big Mountain, Arizona, fight against the violations of their traditional Dine religious practices. They struggle against those who prefer the large businesses instead of respect for the religious freedom of Indian peoples, and those who want to destroy sacred grounds and ceremonial sites (as is the case of Peabody Western Coal Company which wants to take lands without reason, history or rights — lands which belong to the Dine and their future generations.)

But there are not only stories of resistance against North American injustice in this letter-bridge. There are the indigenous, from the extreme south of our continent, in Chile, the Mapuche women in the Pewenche Center of Alto Bio-Bio who resist against stupidity. Two indigenous women, Bertha and Nicolasa Quintreman are accused of "mistreating" members of the armed forces of the Chilean government. So there it is. An armed military unit with rifles, sticks, and tear-gas, protected by bulletproof vests, helmets and shields, accuse two indigenous women of "mistreatment." But Bertha is 74 years old and Nicolasa is 60. How is it possible that two elderly people confronted a "heroic" group of heavily-armed military? Because they are Mapuche. The story is the same as that of the brothers and sisters Dine of Arizona, and the same which repeats itself in all America: a company (ENDESA) wants the lands of the Mapuches, and in spite of the law which protects the indigenous, the government is on the side of the companies. The Mapuche students have pointed out that the government and the company made a "study" of military intelligence about the indigenous Mapuche communities and they came to the conclusion that the Mapuche could not think, defend themselves, resist, or construct a better future. The study was wrong apparently.

Now it occurs to me that, perhaps the powerful in North America carried out a "military intelligence" study (this is frankly a contradiction, because those of us who are military are not intelligent, if we were we would not be military) about the case of the Dine in Arizona, about Leonard Peltier, about other political prisoners, about yourself, mister Mumia.

OUR MOVEMENT FOR MUMIA HAS ACHIEVED MUCH over the last year. The Oakland teach-ins, the Rage Against the Machine concerts, the N.Y. Town Hall Rally, the West Coast Longshoremen's work stoppage, the April 24 mobilizations, the Evergreen State College commencement address, 95 arrested in civil disobedience at the Liberty Bell, Mumia 911, and Mumia Awareness Week, have set Mumia's case before millions. But let us not kid ourselves. We still need to build the broadest movement possible to counter an opposition that remains powerful, dangerous, well-organized and poised to kill Mumia.

EVERYONE IS WELCOME in the movement to stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal. If you are someone who is profoundly disturbed over what happened to Mumia in the courts, and are worried what will happen if this is allowed to stand as precedent, then we need your voice. If you are someone whose principal issue is the death penalty itself, then the fight is here. If you are someone who is convinced of Mumia's innocence, then don't let a miscarriage of justice take place. If you are someone concerned about the suppression of dissenting voices, then help make Mumia's voice heard.

EVERONE CAN TAKE ACTION. Already planned are dozens of programs, actions, newspaper ads, and mobilizations to give collective voice to our cry of justice. The actions of every individual count. Mumia's lawyer, Leonard Weinglass, has already received over 15,000 letters to Judge Yohn on Mumia's behalf. Couldn't we collect 100,000 such letters by the time of the hearing? Virtually everyone has access to some professional or social grouping. Can't we all take this case in our schools, churches, professional associations, unions, and even our friends and families? Can't we take advantage of public events and commemorations such as the Martin Luther King weekend to raise Mumia's case? Can't we poster Mumia's image everywhere? With the year 2000 being an election year, shouldn't candidates be hounded with this issue. Pennsylvania Governor Ridge has now signed 179 death warrants, 106 for African-Americans in a state that is 10% Black. Shouldn't he be branded everywhere as "Governor Death"?

WE ALL HAVE MUCH AT STAKE in preserving Mumia's life and voice. The movement for Mumia has become a focus for many other movements that are working to shake our peoples free from patterns of oppression that ravage us today: the epidemic of police brutality concentrated in Black and Latino communities, the burgeoning prison-industrial complex, the ready-use of a death penalty that is likely to place nearly 4,000 people on death row by the end of the year 2000.

We dare not lose Mumia's voice and life. Every day of our movement's past work has been indispensable to where we are now in the struggle to save Mumia. The next few months, leading up to the Federal District court's decision on an evidentiary hearing and whether Sabo's record will be allowed to stand, must feature our best efforts, our strongest measures, our most creative energies.

signed:

Pam Africa, International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Safiya Bukhari, Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition (New York)
Ron Daniels, Center for Constitutional Rights
Angela Davis, University of California-Santa Cruz
Ossie Davis
Martin Espada, poet
Herman Ferguson, New African Liberation Front
Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Harvard University
Frances Goldin, literary agent
C. Clark Kissinger, Refuse & Resist
Jeff Mackler, Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal (Northern California)
Bob Mandel, Oakland Education Association
Manning Marable, Black Radical Congress
Robert Meeropol, Rosenberg Fund for Children
Monica Moorehead, Millions for Mumia/IAC
Joan Parkin, Campaign to End the Death Penalty
Marcus Rediker, Western PA Committee to Free Mumia (Pittsburgh)
Muhjah Shakir, The Jericho Amnesty Movement
Mark Taylor, Academics for Mumia Abu-Jamal
Michael Warren, attorney Steve Wiser, Bruderhof communities
Julia Wright, International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal (Paris)

Major Winter-Spring Events for Mumia:

Day of Mumia's first court appearance- Mass convergence on Philadelphia
January- Amnesty International publishes pamphlet on the Mumia case.
Jan 12- Union delegation from Europe in Washington, DC
February 18-19- the National Emergency Conference for Mumia
Week of February 23- annual National Student/Youth Day for Mumia
February 28- Civil Disobedience action in Washignton and San Francisco
February- March- Educators for Mumia ad in the New York Times
April 1-8- Mumia Awareness Week
April- publication of Mumia's new book "All Things Censored"
May 6- Western Regional Mass Mobilization for Mumia in San Francisco
Updated Information: www.iacenter.org

with what the Power in the United States does with the so-called "people of color" (African-American, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians, North American Indians and any other peoples who do not have the insipid color of money.)

We are also "people of color" (the same color of our brothers who have Mexican blood and live and struggle in the American Union). We are of the color "brown", the color of the earth, the color from which we take our history, our strength, our wisdom and our hope. But in order to struggle we add another color to the brown: black. We use black ski-masks to show our faces. Only in this way can we be seen and heard. We chose this color as a result of the counsel of an indigenous Mayan elder who explained to us what the color black meant.

The name of this wise elder was Old Man Antonio. He died in these rebel Zapatista lands in March of 1994, victim of tuberculosis which ate his lungs and his breath. Old Man Antonio used to tell us that from black came the light and from there came the stars that light up the sky around the world. He told us a story that said that a long time ago (in those times when no one measured it), the first gods were given the task of giving birth to the world. In one of their meetings they saw it was necessary that the world have life and movement, and for this light was necessary. Then they thought of making the sun in order that the days move and so there would be day and night and time for struggling and time for making love, walking with the days and nights the world would go. The gods had their meeting and made this agreement in front of a large fire, and they knew it was necessary that one of them be sacrificed by throwing himself into the fire in order to become fire himself and fly into the sky. The gods thought that the work of the sun was the most important, so they chose the most beautiful god so that he would fly into the fire and become the sun. But he was afraid. Then the smallest god, the one who was black, said he was not afraid and he threw himself into the fire and became sun. Then the world had light and movement, and there was time for struggle and time for love, and in the day the bodies worked to make the world and in the night the bodies made love and sparkles filled the darkness.

This is what Old Man Antonio told us and that is why we use a black ski mask. So we are of the color brown and of the color black. But we are also of the color yellow, because the first people who walked these lands were made of corn so they would be true. And we are also red because this is the call of blood that has dignity and we are also blue because we are the sky in which we fly, and green for the mountain which is our house and our strength. And we are white because we are paper so that tomorrow can write its story.

So we are 7 colors because there were 7 first gods who birthed the world.

A Letter to the Movement: THE NEXT CRITICAL PERIOD IN THE BATTLE TO SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

The new millennium will usher in some CRUCIAL MONTHS IN THE BATTLE TO SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL. Now more than ever, our energies and efforts in organizing for him must be both more intense and more carefully implemented. The early months of 2000 are those in which we must build and mobilize public expression, during the run-up to a critical ruling by the Federal District court that may happen as early as March.

This court ruling, by Federal District Judge William H. Yohn Jr., may determine whether or not Mumia receives an "evidentiary hearing" to reopen the factual record in his case, or whether all future appeals will be based on the court record of the "hanging judge" Albert Sabo. Judge Sabo found every prosecution witness to be truthful, found every defense witness to be untruthful, and barred the admission of witnesses and documents critical to Mumia's defense.

THE EVIDENCE MUST BE HEARD. Judge Yohn must now decide whether or not to exercise his power to review fully all aspects of State court rulings and findings of fact. Yohn has the Constitutional power to do this, even with the constraints imposed on Federal courts by the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996. This ruling is crucial, because it determines whether the evidence barred by Pennsylvania courts will ever be heard, and it will determine what record of the facts in this case will be used during all future Federal appeals. If Sabo's record is allowed to stand, then there is no such thing as justice in the United States.

THE MASS MOVEMENTS DO SHAPE COURT DECISIONS. Legal pundits would have us believe that everything is decided by judges. But history shows that the courts are greatly affected by voices and actions of the people. This is particularly true in high profile political cases that concentrate broader issues being fought in society. Remember how mass actions and the bus boycott forced the courts to rule against segregation in Montgomery. Appeals courts overturned the Chicago 7 convictions and the conviction of Panther leader Huey P. Newton, in part because the whole world was watching. And the movement against the war in Vietnam impelled an emergency ruling by the Supreme Court to allow the publication of the Pentagon Papers. It is during the early months of 2000 that the government will be "taking the temperature of society" on this case, and making the decision of how much they will be forced to give ground.

Perhaps they made this study and came to the conclusion that they might be able to violate justice and reason, to assault history and lose the truth. They thought they could do this and no one would say anything. The Dine Indians would stand by and watch the destruction of the most sacred of their history, Leonard Peltier would be alone, and you, Mister Mumia, would be silenced (and I remember your own words: "They not only want my death, they want my silence").

But the studies were wrong. Happy mistake? The Dine resist against those who would kill their memory, Leonard Peltier is accompanied by all those who demand his liberty, and you sir, speak and yell today with all the voices which celebrate your birthday as all birthdays should be celebrated, by struggling.

Mister Mumia:

We have nothing big to give you as a gift for your birthday, it is poor and little, but all of us send you an embrace.

We hope that when you gain your freedom you will come to visit us. Then we will give you a birthday party, even if it isn't April 24th, it will be an un-birthday party.

There will be musicians, dancing and speaking, which are the means by which men and women of all colors understand and know one another, and build bridges over which they walk together, towards history, towards tomorrow.

Happy Birthday!

Vale. We salute you and may justice and truth find their place.

From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast,
Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos
Mexico, April of 1999

P.S. I read somewhere that you are a father and a grandfather. So I am sending you a gift for your children and grandchildren. It is a little wooden car with Zapatistas dressed in black ski-masks.

Tell your children and grandchildren that it is a gift that we send you, the Zapatistas. Explain to them that there are places with people of all colors everywhere, just like you, who want justice, liberty and democracy.

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos writes to Tom Ridge, Governor of Pennsylvania

Zapatista Army of National Liberation

April of 1999

For: The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, USA.

Mister Tom Ridge, governor of Pennsylvania

United States of North America

From : Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos

Mexico

Gentlemen Magistrate and Governor:

I write to you in the name of the men, women, children and elderly of the EZLN. Most of us are indigenous Mexicans and we struggle for liberty, democracy and justice.

The purpose of the following letter is to demand justice in the case of Mister Mumia Abu-Jamal, condemned unjustly to the death penalty in 1982. As you know, the judicial process against Mister Mumia Abu-Jamal was plagued with lies and irregularities: the police who accuse him lied about a supposed confession of his, one of the witnesses has changed testimony and declared that he was forced to lie or face prison, the ballistic evidence has proved it was impossible that Mister Mumia Abu-Jamal fired the weapon which killed the policeman. This should be enough evidence for a new trial, but even this recourse has been denied to Mister Mumia Abu-Jamal. If the Judicial system of Pennsylvania and the governor are certain of the guilt of Mister Mumia Abu-Jamal, they should not fear a new trial that adheres to the truth.

I do not ask clemency, pardon, nor mercy of you for Mister Mumia Abu-Jamal. I demand justice, something which I believe is within your powers. No one within the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania or governor Tom Ridge has anything to lose. A new trial can bring the truth forward, and justice, supposedly, is all that should matter.

That is all.

From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast
Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos
Mexico, April of 1999

Millions For Mumia

People and Organizations Around the World Who Demand a New Trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal

Unions (Total numbers over 4.6 Million. Most have passed resolutions supporting a new trial for Mumia. Others such as ILWU have been more directly involved such as shutting down the west coast ports on April 24, 1999 in support of Mumia.)
International Longshore & Warehouse Union
National Writers Union
Farm Labor Organizing Committee
United Farm Workers
Amalgamated Transit Union
San Francisco Labor Council
Alameda County Labor Council
South Bay Labor Council
San Mateo Labor Council
1199 Nat'l Health & Human Services Union
Transport Workers Union local 100
Congress of South African Trade Unions (South Africa)
Transport & General Workers Union (UK)
National Union of Journalist (UK)
National Confederation of Education Workers (Brazil)
IG Medien (media workers) (Germany)
CGT-General Confederation of Workers (France)
Canadian Autoworkers
Canadian Union of Postal Workers
Ontario Federation of Labor
Zaschita Trud (Defense of Labor) (Russia)
United Auto Workers Local 808

Organizations, etc.... (Made up mostly of thousands of grassroots activists, college and high school students, and people of faith.)

MOVE
New African Liberation Front
Black Radical Congress
Refuse & Resist
Center for Constitutional Rights
Campaign to End the Death Penalty
International Action Center
The Jericho Amnesty Movement
Amnesty International
American Friends Service Committee
Lesbian and Gay Insurrection
National Lawyers Guild
National Peoples Campaign

EZLN (Zapatista Front of National Liberation)
UNAM Student Strike Committee
United American Indians of New England
National Conference of Black Lawyers
National Council of Churches
The Brecht Forum
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Pennsylvania Abolitionists
Bruderhof Communities
Common Courage Press
Anarchist Black Cross
Anti-Racist Action
Members of Earth First!, Food Not Bombs, and other direct action groups.

Educators, Writers & Artist

Jonathan Kozol
Toni Morrison
Rudolfo Anaya
Marty Hittelman
Leslie Marmon Silko
Cornel West
Sonia Sanchez
Howard Zinn
Manning Marable
Henry Louis Gates, Jr.
Ossie Davis
Frances Fox Piven
Angela Y. Davis
Noam Chomsky
Martin Espada
Gloria Steinem
Alice Walker
John Edgar Wideman
Leslie Feinberg
Dick Gregory
Mark Taylor
Rage Against the Machine

Government

Congressional Black Caucus
Members of European Parliament
France Socialist Party
Navarrese Parliament
Basque Parliament

Who is Mumia Abu-Jamal?

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a political prisoner, who like many other civil rights and labor leaders throughout US history, was targeted for his ability to educate and uplift oppressed people in the United States. His role as the "voice of the voiceless" for the black community in Philadelphia made him one of the most famous critics of the notoriously racist and brutal Philadelphia police department. He also played an important role in publicizing the war on the MOVE community, which culminated in 1985 with the bombing of the MOVE house by the Philadelphia police. The story of Mumia Abu-Jamal and other political prisoners, such as American Indian activist Leonard Peltier, is proof that the civil rights struggle is not over.

At the age of fifteen, Mumia Abu-Jamal joined the Black Panther party and became active in the civil rights movement during the late 60's and early 70's. He went on to become a prominent journalist whose commentaries, articles and books are known throughout the world. Like all members of the Black Panther party, he was a target of the FBI's COINTELPRO program, which sought to discredit, disrupt, and misrepresent civil rights and anti-war groups. The FBI collected hundreds of pages on Mumia and prosecutors later used this to establish a "motive" for Mumia's conviction.

On December 9, 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal was driving a taxi in Philadelphia when he saw that a police officer had stopped his brother. He went over to see what was going on, when an altercation broke out. When back up arrived, both officer Daniel Faulkner and Mumia Abu-Jamal had been shot; Faulkner was dead and Mumia critically wounded. Despite the fact that witnesses reported another man fleeing the scene, Mumia was charged with murder.

A ballistics test later showed that the gun found on Mumia, which was a .38 caliber weapon, was not the murder weapon. Officer Faulkner had been killed with a .44 caliber weapon, but this evidence was never entered into court. Philadelphia police did not even test to see if Mumia's gun had been fired. After the trial, witnesses to the murder came forward and stated they were intimidated by police into not testifying. All together, Mumia's lawyer Leonard Weinglass, has cited 29 violations of Mumia's rights in a current appeal for a new trial.

Pennsylvania has had a history of racism in its state courts. Judge Sabo, who presided over Mumia Abu-Jamal's trial, has sent more people to death row than any other judge in the United States, the majority being Black or Latino. In fact, Philadelphia has a higher proportion of Black people on death row than any other city in the US. Facts such as these have prompted the American Bar Association to oppose the death penalty because of these race and class issues.

Mumia Abu-Jamal's trial stands for much more than one man's unjust imprisonment, his case represents the inherent racism and classism of the death penalty in the United States. A fact that has sparked protest against the United States throughout the world. The movement for justice for Mumia, has built many important bridges between different groups, which was most prevalent during the Millions for Mumia marches in 1999 in Philadelphia and San Francisco. Thousands of civil rights activist, peace activist, LGBT&T activist, labor activist, environmentalist, teachers and others united to demand a new trial for Mumia. Today there truly are Millions for Mumia, from labor unions in the US, Europe, Canada, South Africa, Brazil, Germany and Russia, to the Congressional Black Caucus and government officials in the European parliament and France Socialist Party, to thousands of grassroots activist and students throughout the world who all demand that justice can not be served till Mumia is given a fair trial.

Currently, the battle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life is at a critical point. Mumia was granted a stay of execution this past October by Federal District Judge William H. Yohn Jr. In the next few months, Judge Yohn will either grant an "evidentiary hearing" and reopen the trial or decide that the original trial under Sabo was fair, and that all further appeals will be based on the original trial. If a new trial is not granted, a new death warrant will likely be signed this year. To save Mumia's life, we must let our government know, that anything but a new trial is unacceptable. A trial can not be just, when questions about the fairness of a trial remain unanswered! For more info.: www.iacenter.org * <http://prisonactivist.org> * fnbdayton@excite.com (Dayton)

The voice that arms itself to be heard, the face that hides itself to be seen, the name that hides itself to be named, the red star that calls out to humanity around the world to be heard,, to be seen, to be named. The tomorrow that is harvested in the past. [from. Dark Night field notes, #8, P O Box 3629, Chicago, IL 60690-3629, for reprints of Zapatista documents; p. 34.]

Named after the 'Indian' Revolutionary, Emiliano Zapata (1879-1919), whose forces fought against the Spanish dictator, Porfirio Diaz, under the slogan, "Tierra y Libertad" (Land and Liberty), the Zapatistas draw their strength, their imagery, and their vision from the most oppressed segments of Mexican life, the indigenous, the conquered ones who have sustained themselves in the face of over 500 years of conquest.

That they exist is something of a miracle, and they bring something to life's table that is wonderful.

MEXICAN MASSACRE IN ACTEAL: HOW MANY MORE?

Mumia Abu-Jamal

In a vicious attack that lasted up to four hours at least 45 of Mexico's indigenous people (men, women and children) were massacred in the county of San Pedro de Chenalnó, in Chiapas State, several days before Christmas, 1997. New accounts were generally sketchy, and rarely tried to make sense of the evil, savage event.

The names of over two score dead were not worthy of reporting, and the fleeting references to the Zapatista Rebel Army (EZLN) only left many in a ball of confusion.

One hears of this long, drawn-out premeditated massacre, and wonders: Why? If the reader is at all like the writer, s/he saw or heard nothing at all like an explanation for this planned explosion of death. The writer had to turn to the informative alternative to the establishment press, which, in this instance, meant the Nuevo Amanecer Press, which offered what the establishment media could not - context.

N.A.P. noted, in a communiqué issued weeks before the massacre by the Zapatista Central Command, that the indigenous people have been suffering for months at the hands of paramilitary bands and state police, under the auspices and protection of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Indeed, the area of the massacre, San Pedro de Chenalnó, was a place where thousands of Indians were congregated, poor, ragged, hungry and ill, refugees from villages in the

Chiapan Highlands, under PRI guns.

In a December 12th, 1997, communiqué, Zapatista Subcommander Marcos wrote of the repression waged against the indigenous people, especially local (Chenalnó) Zapatista activists:

The state and federal governments and the Institutional Revolutionary Party, far from stopping their wave of aggressions, are trying to avoid solving the main problem of Chenalnó, which is the eradication of their paramilitary groups and the return of the displaced people to their communities. While it pretends to establish a dialogue, Chiapanecan PRI followers are undertaking the plunder and destruction of the evicted's property. Coffee, cattle, clothes, and domestic utensils are being distributed among the paramilitary as the bounty of a war which, up until now, has only seen shooting coming from one of the sides, that is the government and its political party. (NAP:amanecer@aa.net 12/16/97)

These paramilitary groups, whose war cry was "An end to the Zapatista seed" have waged an insidious campaign against Indian communities in the Southeast, of theft, robbery, brutality, rape, arson, murders and then, mass murders.

Subcommander Marcos' warning (of Dec. 12th, 1997) was all but ignored, and ten days later (on Dec. 22nd, 1997) Chiapas was marked by an unholy massacre. According to Subcommander Marcos, "The direct responsibility for these bloody events fall upon Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon and the Justice Ministry, who, two days ago, gave a green light to the counterinsurgency project presented by the Federal Army." (NCDM: moonlight@igc.apc.org 12/15/97).

Nine men, 21 women and 15 children – These people, nameless, invisible, and dead, could very well be alive if the warnings had been heeded. But they were Indians. Indigenous people, Indigenes.

What if 45 whites were killed in a four hour long paramilitary massacre? Their faces, their names, their lives, and their loves would be daily fare of newspapers, magazines and television. But they weren't white. They were red. And just as the Zapatista warnings were ignored the brutal lives and deaths at the hands of the PRlistas are fast on the way of being forgotten. UNTIL NEXT TIME.

To the powers that be, known internationally by the term "Neoliberalism," we did not count, we did not produce, we did not buy, we did not sell. We were a cipher in the accounts of big capital. Then we went to the mountains [of southeastern Mexico] to find ourselves and see if we could ease the pain of being forgotten stones and weeds. Here, in the mountains of southeastern Mexico, our dead live on.

Our dead, who live in the mountains, know many things. They speak to us of their death, and we hear them. Coffins speak and tell us another story that comes from yesterday and points toward tomorrow. The mountains spoke to us, the Macchualob, the common and ordinary people.

We are simple people, as the powerful tell us.

Every day and the next night, the powerful want us to dance the X-tol [a "conquest dance" reenacting the struggle between the Christian and Moor, with the latter representing the conquered indigenous folk] and repeat their brutal conquest.

The Kaz-Dzul, [half-foreigner, or Mestizo, Ladino] the false man, rules our lands and has giant war machines, like the Boob, [forest demon] half-puma and half-horse, that spread pain and death among us.

The trickster government sends us the Aluxob, [a small forest spirit, a trickster] the liars who fool our people and make them forgetful. This is why we became soldiers.

This is why we remain soldiers:

Because we want no more death and trickery for our people, because we want no more forgetting.

The mountains told us to take up arms so we would have a voice, It told us to cover our faces so we would have a face.

It told us to forget our names so we could be named.

It told us to protect our past so we would have a future.

This is who we are. The Zapatista National Liberation Army.

ZAPATISTA DREAMS

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Over 500 years after European conquest of the Americas, the native, indigenous peoples (that is, their few surviving descendants) still live on the margins of society, and are the poorest of the poor, the sickest of the sick, the people most dispossessed of so-called "New World" populations.

Many of us forget that so-called "Indians," not Africans, were the first slaves of the Americas, pressed into service by Admiral Cristobal Colon (known to the Americans as Christopher Columbus) and crew to dig for gold, and if felt they were unproductive, their hands were chopped off. This Columbian injustice was the opening which brought genocide to untold millions of natives, and transformed an ancient, "Indian" world into a "New," white one. Thus, every country in this hemisphere, Canada, United States, Mexico, rests upon the shattered bones of native genocide, and may be seen as New Europe (Canada=New Britain and New France; US=New England, New France; Mexico=New Spain) for the mass importation of Europeans, the decimation of natives, and the forced captivity and enslavement of Africans.

In the southernmost "kneecap" of Mexico, in Chiapas State, an indigenous revolutionary movement is growing, energized by the Mayan and "Indian" poor, who are injecting a remarkable vitality into the revolutionary tradition. In July - August 1996, the Zapatistas convened the First International Meeting for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism (called The Encuentro, or The Encounter) in Chiapas. In their opening remarks one finds the emergence of something deeply moving in its vision and poignant in its poetic power.

Please share it with us:

Let us introduce ourselves.

We are the Zapatista National Liberation Army. For ten years we lived in these mountains, preparing to fight a war. In these mountains we built an army. Below, in the cities and plantations, we did not exist. Our lives were worth less than those of machines or animals. We were like stones, like weeds in the road.

We were silenced. We were faceless. We were nameless. We had no future.

We did not exist.

WHAT MADE THE ACTEAL MASSACRE POSSIBLE?

Mumia Abu-Jamal

"Brothers and Sisters; Why? How many more? Until when?"
Subcomandante Marcos Zapatista Army; Dec. '97

The brutal, premeditated massacre of at least 45 indigenous poor men, women and children several days before Christmas, 1997, by armed paramilitaries of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) sent shock waves through the international community.

In a slaughter of the innocent that took over four hours in duration, the so-called PRIistas revealed their malevolent intent, to attack and disable the indigenous (Indian) support network for the Zapatista Army. Thus, the ruthless killing of 45 civilians had a clear political objective, one verbalized by the "Red Mask" paramilitaries as, "We are going to put an end to the Zapatista seed" (Nuevo Amanecer Press, 12/26/97). Seen in this light, the 45 men, women and children of San Pedro de Chenalhó were but a means to a dastardly end.

How, one wonders, can such a thing happen? Until we address this question how can we begin to answer those posed above?

For over 50 years, especially after the Nazi period in Europe, psychologists have studied this destructive type of phenomena.

Some, like the famous Milgram Studies (of 1963) taught us of the limits of "destructive obedience," where so-called "normal" people shocked innocent others up to 450 volts, up to levels reading "DANGER: SEVERE SHOCK," only because authority figures told them to do so, with 65% obeying to the end (other Milgram Studies found over 90% compliance).

Scholars H.C. Kelman and V.L. Hamilton have advanced the notion of "sanctioned massacres," no stranger to American or world history: "within American history, My Lai had its precursors in the Philippine war around the turn of the century...and in the massacres of American Indians...[o]ne recalls the Nazi's "final solution" for European Jews, the massacres and deportations of Armenians by Turks, the liquidation of the Kulaks and the great purges in the Soviet Union, and more recently the massacre in Indonesia and Bangladesh, in Biafra and Burundi, in South Africa and Mozambique, in Cambodia and Afghanistan, in Syria and Lebanon. (Political Psychology, by N.J. Kressel, p.223). In many of those cases, we find the "sanctioning" of heinous massacres by authorization, routinization

and dehumanization.

Authorization is when persons in power order or allow atrocities to occur in furtherance of political ends. Routinization is the internal process by which those authorized make it "okay" to do what is an obvious evil, like slaughtering babies. Dehumanization is the social and ideological process by which a people are projected, perceived, and then treated as somehow less than human. In each of the historical instances noted above, we have seen these diabolical features at work.

It happened in America, where the declaration of independence wrote of "merciless Indian savages" and where children learned the phrase, "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" at an early age. Such a mindset made Wounded Knee an historic inevitability. These same features were found in the Chiapas area where minions of the state attacked the most powerless and the most maligned segment of Mexican society: Indians, the indigenous peoples.

For centuries they, as well as Africans, have been subjected to dehumanization, where, as in Chiapas they were not seen as full human beings, with inherent rights, but as tools used in the "dirty war" of the government against the Zapatistas.

"How many more?" Marcos asked. "Until when?" he wonders. The true shame is that we cannot say.

Declaration Of The Zapatista Front Of National Liberation (Fzln), Concerning Mumia Abu-Jamal's Sentence

What sense does it make to kill in order to prove that killing is wrong? What sense does it make to try to settle one inhuman act with another? But when, in addition, when they blame and try to "legally assassinate" an innocent man, for the mere fact of his having been born black, for being honorable, because the elections in the State of Pennsylvania require their quota of blood — what sense is there in what is hypocritically called justice in the States?

Our *compañero* and brother Mumia Abu-Jamal, known for his criticism of violence and racism, is denied the possibility of a new trial, which would allow him the possibility to demonstrate what, day after day, for 16 years, has become more and more evident: his lack of guilt.

to which human beings can resort: the death penalty, to punish someone they consider different, someone who struggles for a more just society.

We call on the civil society of the State of Pennsylvania, on civil society of the United States, on civil society of the entire world, to reject this barbarism; we call on the good men and women who inhabit this earth to stop the execution of Mumia. Because if Mumia Abu-Jamal dies, human dignity will once more be defeated. We will not allow it!, *compañeros* and brothers.

We demand justice from the Governor of Pennsylvania and the United States legal system! The world is watching them. They have a new opportunity to demonstrate that justice can prevail. Would that they make use of this opportunity, and go down in history as good men, and not as assassins.

Abolish the death penalty! Liberty for Mumia Abu-Jamal, now!

Javier Elorriaga, of the National Coordinating Committee of the FZLN
Maria and Ulises Martinez of the International Committee of the FZLN

